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(U) CHINA: POSSIBLE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CHANGES THIS YEAR

BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE
AND RESEARCH

CURRENT
ANALYSES

Summary

In several interviews with foreign journalists during recent months, party General Secretary Hu Yaobang has revealed that a substantial proportion of current Communist Party Central Committee members--10-15 percent, according to one statement, and about 60 people, according to another--would be replaced. In one interview, Hu also suggested that both the Politburo and the Secretariat would see some retirements as China seeks to rejuvenate its aging leadership and effect a transition to young reformers who can lead China into the 21st century. Recent personnel changes in the central government, provincial party and government structures, and the military seem to have furthered this goal considerably and suggest the possible contours of the Central Committee after this September's party representative meeting.

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Army, Government, and Party Changeovers Already Made

One of Deng Xiaoping's long-term goals has been to weed out from the leadership aged, incompetent, and recalcitrant leaders and to replace them with younger, better educated, more technologically sophisticated, and reform-oriented cadres. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) especially has undergone major high-level changes as old guerrilla fighters have stepped aside (willingly or not) to make room for remarkably young and little-known men. Nine new central government ministers recently have been appointed, and a large number of provincial party secretaries and governors have been replaced by younger men and women, most moving up within their provincial apparatus.

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Top Strata Changes Unlikely

The extent of future changes in the very senior leadership remains unclear. While some retirements and several promotions are likely in both the Politburo and the Secretariat, it seems unlikely that major changes will take place at the apex--the Politburo's elite six-man Standing Committee.

Prospective Changes

Central Committee full members fall into three categories, as indicated on the accompanying lists: those who are likely to remain on the Central Committee, those likely to be retired or removed, and those who possibly could be retired or removed. In addition, 26 current alternate Central Committee members are likely to be promoted to full membership and about two dozen young officials are on the rise and likely will gain either alternate or full membership in September.

These categories assume that officials recently retired from a substantive post such as provincial secretary, minister in the central government, or a military position will retire from the Central Committee. The lists also assume that replacements for the most part will be elevated from alternate status or will join the Central Committee either as alternate or full members. Individuals whose age or inactivity suggest that they may soon lose their substantive post are possible retirement candidates, as are elderly or semi-active Politburo and Secretariat members, as well as a few known opponents of the reformers who are assumed to be targeted for removal.

Those likely to remain include recently appointed or reappointed officials; young technocrats; and key reform supporters, even if elderly, who are not expected to retire from substantive posts (such as Wang Enmao in Xinjiang and Yang Shangkun in the Military Commission). Among those expected to be promoted from alternate to full membership, or from no membership to either alternate or full status, are recently promoted provincial party and government officials, a few new central government ministers, and several newly appointed central and regional military officials.

In general, no systematic assessment of alternate members was attempted other than to identify those likely to be promoted. Many of the alternates are unknown or little known.

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Possible Changes in the 12th Central Committee at the
September 1985 Party Representative Meeting

I. Full Members

A. Most Likely To Remain on Central Committee (88):

Buhe - Inner Mongolia governor
*Chen Muhua - People's Bank of China president
*Chen Pixian - Secretariat and National People's Congress (NPC) vice chairman
Chen Xitong - Beijing mayor
*Chen Yun - Politburo Standing Committee member and First Secretary of CCP Central Discipline Inspection Commission
Cui Naifu - Minister of Justice
Cui Yueli - Minister of Public Health
*Deng Xiaoping - Military and Advisory Commissions chairman
Pu Kuiqing - Nanjing MR political commissar
*Gu Mu - State Councilor and Secretariat member, "open door" spokesman
Gu Xiulian - Jiangsu governor
*Hao Jianxiu - Secretariat member
He Dongchang - State Education Commission vice chairman
He Jinheng - PLA Second Artillery Corps commander
He Kang - Minister of Agriculture
*Hu Qili - Secretariat member
Huang Zhizhen - Hubei governor
*Hu Yaobang - CCP General Secretary
Ismail Amat - Xinjiang governor
Jiang Zemin - Shanghai mayor
Lang Dazhong - Tai minority, recently promoted to CC
*Li Desheng - former Shenyang MR commander
Li Li'an - Heilongjiang CCP secretary
Li Ligong - Shanxi CCP secretary
Li Peng - PRC Vice Premier
Li Ruihuan - Tianjin mayor
Li Senmao - Vice Minister of Railroads
Li Ximing - Beijing CCP secretary
Li Xipu - Shaanxi CCP secretary
Li Xue - Minister of Astronautics
Li Xuezhi - Beijing CCP secretary
Li Ziqi - Gansu CCP secretary
Liang Buting - Shandong CCP secretary
Lin Ruo - Guangdong CCP secretary
Liu Fuzhi - Minister of Public Security
Liu Zhengwei - Henan CCP deputy secretary
Liu Zhenhua - Shenyang MR political commissar

* denotes full or alternate Politburo or Secretariat member.

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Lu Peijian - State Auditing Commission chairman
Mao Zhiyong - Hunan CCP secretary
Mo Wexiang - Minister of Aviation
*Ni Zhifu - Tianjin CCP secretary
Qian Yongchang - Minister of Communications
Qian Zhengying - Minister of Water Conservancy & Electric Power
*Qiao Shi - Director, CCP Organization Department
*Qin Jiwei - Beijing MR commander
Qin Zhongda - Minister of Chemical Industry
Shen Yinluo - Hubei CCP deputy secretary
Sun Daguang - Minister of Geology
Tian Jiyun - PRC Vice Premier
Tomur Dawamat - Xinjiang People's Congress Chairman
*Ulanhu - PRC Vice President
Wan Haifeng - Chengdu MR political commissar
*Wan Li - PRC Vice Premier, Secretariat and Politburo member
Wang Bingqian - Minister of Finance
Wang Chaowen - Guizhou governor
Wang Enmao - Xinjiang CCP first secretary
Wang Guangyu - Anhui CCP secretary
Wang Guangzhong - Liaoning vice governor
Wang Heshou - Discipline Inspection Commission secretary
Wang Zhaoguo - CCP General Office director
Wu Jinghua - Xizang (Tibet) CCP secretary
Wu Xueqian - Minister of Foreign Affairs
*Xi Zhongxun - party elder
Xiang Nan - Fujian CCP secretary
Xiang Shouzhi - Nanjing MR commander
Xie Feng - Hubei CCP deputy secretary
Xie Xide - Fudan University president
Xu Jiatun - Xinhua, Hong Kong director
Xue Ju - Zhejiang governor
*Yang Dezhi - PLA Chief of Staff
Yang Rudai - Sichuan CCP secretary
*Yang Shangkun - Military Commission permanent vice chairman
Yang Taifang - Minister of Posts and Telecommunications
Yang Yichen - PRC Procurator General
*Yao Yilin - PRC Vice Premier
Yin Yuan - Anshan City CCP secretary
You Taizhong - Guangzhou MR commander
Yu Hongen - Minister of Coal
*Yu Qiuli - Director, PLA General Political Department
Zhang Aiping - Minister of Defense
Zhang Jingfu - State Councilor
Zhang Shou - State Planning Commission vice chairman
Zhang Shuguang - Hebei governor
*Zhang Tingfa - PLA Air Force commander
Zhao Shouyi - Minister of Labor and Personnel
*Zhao Ziyang - PRC Premier
Zheng Tuobin - Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade
Zhu Guangya - China Nuclear Society vice president

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B. Likely to be Retired or Removed (53):

An Pingsheng - former Yunnan CCP first secretary
Bai Dongcai - former Jiangxi CCP first secretary
Chen Bin - former National Defense Science, Technology and Industry Commission (NDSTIC) chairman
Chen Guodong - former Shanghai CCP first secretary
Chen Lei - former Liaoning governor
Chen Puru - former Minister of Railroads
Chen Renhong - former Jinan Military Region (MR) political commissar
Chen Weida - former Tianjin CCP first secretary
Chi Biqing - former Guizhou CCP first secretary
Dai Suli - former Liaoning CCP secretary
Gao Yangwen - former Minister of Coal
He Jingzhi - former deputy director, Propaganda Department
Hu Hong - former Fujian CCP permanent secretary
Hu Lijiao - former Shanghai CCP second secretary
Hua Guofeng - former CCP Chairman and PRC Premier
Jiang Yonghui - former Fuzhou Military Region commander
Jiao Linyi - former Hunan CCP secretary
Li Qiming - former Yunnan Discipline Inspection chairman
Li Rui - party elder, former Organization Department director
Lin Hujia - former Minister of Agriculture
Lu Dadong - Sichuan Advisory Commission vice chairman
Ma Wenrui - former Shaanxi CCP secretary
Ma Xingyuan - former Fujian governor
Qiang Xiaochu - former Jilin CCP first secretary
Qiao Xiaoguang - former Guangxi CCP first secretary
Qin Yingji - former Guangxi CCP and government official
Shen Tu - former director general of civil aviation
*Song Renqiong - party elder
Su Gang - former Guizhou CCP secretary
Su Yiran - former Shandong CCP first secretary
Tan Qilong - Sichuan Advisory Commission chairman
Tan Shanhe - former Urumqi MR political commissar
Tang Ke - former Minister of Petroleum
Wan Da - Hunan Advisory Commission preparation group chairman
Wang Chenghan - former Chengdu MR commander
Wang Kewen - Shanxi Advisory Commission chairman
Wang Meng - former Guangzhou MR political commissar
*Wei Guoqing - party veteran
Xiao Han - former Guangxi party and government figure
Xiao Quanfu - former Urumqi MR commander
Yang Chengwu - former PLA Chief of Staff
Yang Di - former Shanghai CCP secretary
Yang Jingren - Nationalities Affairs Commission, United Front Work director
Yao Guang - former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Yin Patang - former Xizang (Tibet) CCP first secretary
Yu Mingtao - former auditor general

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Zhang Ze - former Shaanxi CCP permanent secretary
Zheng Zhen - former PLA Deputy Chief of Staff
Zhao Zijian - former Nanchang, Jiangxi CCP secretary
Zheng Sansheng - former Jinan MR deputy commander
Zhou Shizhong - former Wuhan MR commander
Zhou Zijian - former Anhui CCP first secretary
Zhu Yunqian - former General Political Department deputy

C. Possibly May Be Retired or Removed (62):

*Deng Liqun - former Propaganda Department director
*Deng Yingchao - party elder, widow of Zhou Enlai
*Fang Yi - party elder, science and technology official
Han Peixin - Jiangsu CCP secretary
Han Xianchu - NPC vice chairman
Hong Xuezhi - General Logistics Department director
*Hu Qiaomu - party elder, theoretician
Hu Sheng - party historian
Huang Hua - NPC vice chairman, former Foreign Minister
Huang Xinting - PLA armored forces commander
Jiang Nanxiang - Higher Party School vice president
Kang Keqing - party elder, widow of Zhu De
Kang Shien - state councilor
Li Dongye - Minister of Metallurgy
Li Menghua - State Sports Commission chairman
*Li Xiannian - party elder, PRC President
Li Yaowen - PLA Navy political commissar
Liang Biye - former GPD deputy director
Liang Lingguang - Guangdong governor
Liao Hansheng - NPC vice chairman
Liu Lin - Jiangsu Advisory Commission chairman
Lin Liyun - NPC and Women's Federation official
Liu Huqing - PLA Navy commander
Liu Zhijian - former Kunming MR political commissar
Luo Qingchang - central party functionary
Mu Qing - Xinhua director general
*Nie Rongzhen - Military Commission vice chairman
Peng Chong - NPC vice chairman
*Peng Zhen - NPC Standing Commission chairman
Qin Chuan - People's Daily director
Rao Xingli - former Hubei CCP committee member
Ren Zhongyi - former Guangdong CCP first secretary
Saifudin - party elder
Song Ping - State Planning Commission chairman
Tan Youlin - former Lanzhou MR political commissar
Tie Ying - Zhejiang Advisory Commission chairman
Wang Chonglun - trade union federation vice president
Wang Feng - China Central Television director
Wang Hanbin - NPC secretary general

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Wang Heshou - Discipline Inspection Commission secretary
Wang Quanguo - former Hubei CCP deputy secretary
Wang Renzhong - NPC vice chairman
*Wang Zhen - party elder
Wu Quanqing - Daqing oil drill worker
Xiao Hua - CPPCC vice chairman, former Lanzhou MR political commissar
Xing Yanzi - Tianjin CPPCC vice chairman
Xu Shaofu - former Liaoning CCP secretary
*Xu Xiangqian - Military Commission vice chairman
Yan Dongsheng - Chinese Academy of Sciences vice president
Yang Bo - Minister of Light Industry
Yang Dezhong - CCP general office deputy director
Ye Fei - NPC vice chairman
*Ye Jianying - Military Commission vice chairman
Yuan Baohua - State Economic Commission vice chairman
Zhang Zaiwang - Tianjin People's Congress chairman
Zhang Zhixiu - former Kunming MR commander
Zhao Cangbi - former Minister of Public Security
Zhao Haifeng - former Qinghai CCP secretary
Zhao Xingyuan - former Liaoning CCP secretary
Zhou Hui - Inner Mongolia CCP first secretary
Zhou Jiannan - Minister of Machine Building
Zhu Muzhi - Minister of Culture

D. Insufficient Data or No Estimate (8):

Basang
Chen Fuhan
Cho Nam Qi
Deng Jiaxian
Guo Liwen
Liu Zhen
Raidi
Xue Zhenhua

II. Alternate Members Possibly To Be Promoted to Full Membership (26):

Gao Dezhan - new Jilin governor
Gong Benyan - Harbin mayor
Han Xu - new Ambassador to US
He Guangyuan - Vice Minister of Machine Building
He Zhukang - Henan governor
Hei Boli - Ningxia governor
Hu Jintao - new Guizhou CCP secretary
Hu Ping - Fujian governor
Jiang Minkuan - new Sichuan governor

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Jiang Xinxiang - Minister of Nuclear Industry
Li Chang'an - new Shandong governor
Li Gang - People's Armed Police commander
Li Ruishan - Tianjin mayor
Li Tieying - new Minister of Electronics
Liu Yi - Minister of Commerce
Nie Kuiju - PLA Navy deputy commander
Qian Qichen - Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Song Jian - State Science and Technology Commission chairman
Wang Meng - writer
Xing Chongzhi - Hubei CCP secretary
Xiong Qingquan - new Hunan governor
Xu Xin - PLA Deputy Chief of Staff
Yang Xizong - new Henan CCP secretary
Zhang Wannian - new Guangzhou MR deputy commander
Zhu Houze - new Propaganda Department director
Zou Jiahua - new Minister of Ordnance Industry

III. Likely Candidates for Promotion to Alternate or Full Membership From Outside of Central Committee (26):

Chen Huiguang - new Guangxi CCP secretary
Ding Henggao - new NDSTIC chairman
Ding Guanggeng - new Minister of Railroads
Fu Quanyou - new Chengdu MR commander
Gao Di - new Jilin CCP secretary
Han Huaizhi - PLA Deputy Chief of Staff
He Qizong - new PLA Deputy Chief of Staff
He Zhiqiang - new Yunnan governor
Hou Jie - new Heilongjiang governor
Li Guixian - new Liaoning CCP secretary
Li Jiulong - new Jinan MR commander
Li Xuanhua - new Lanzhou MR political commissar
Liu Jingsong - new Shanyang MR commander
Ma Zhanmin - PLA Air Force Chief of Staff
Pu Chaozhu - new Yunnan CCP secretary
Rui Xingwen - new Shanghai CCP secretary
Wan Shaofen - new Jiangxi CCP secretary
Wang Tao - new Minister of Petroleum
Yang Baibing - new Beijing MR political commissar
Yin Kesheng - new Qinghai CCP secretary
Xu Huizi - new PLA Deputy Chief of Staff
Zhang Zhongxian - new Guangzhou MR political commissar
Zhao Naiqi - new General Logistics Department deputy director
Zhao Xianchu - new Lanzhou MR commander
Zhou Keyu - new General Political Department deputy director
Zhou Wenyuan - new General Political Department deputy director

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